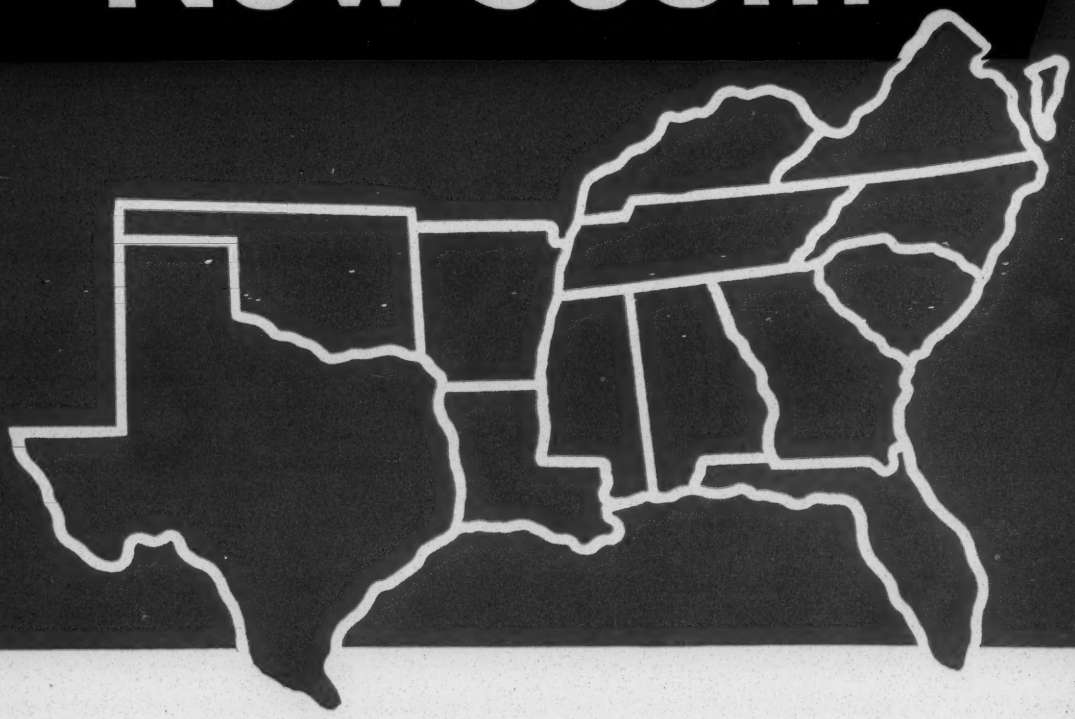
New South



- Desegregation Entering New Phase
- The Snail's Pace of School Desegregation
- A Southern Century
- . . . Unquote

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New South

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New South

Notes

School desegregation in the South is now entering a new phase. The nation's largest segregated school system, Houston, Texas, desegregated its first grade peacefully in September and token desegregation in the Upper South states was accelerated.

The really new phase, however, will begin November 14 when the first Deep South city will face a final court order to desegregate. New Orleans, Louisiana, received a delay of its desegregation order from September to November 14 to enable it to plan for desegregation in the first grade. No one is certain of the final outcome of events in New Orleans, but it is generally conceded that a break in the segregation dike of the deep South will ease the desegregation flow in the Upper South and border states.

Included in this issue is an article analyzing the events in New Orleans and Houston and their effect on local citizens and groups.

Prince Edward County, Virginia, is the only locality which opened the fall term of school with students having no access to public education. A brief article here gives the highlights and current developments in the school crisis in the county.

Two editorials, one from the Louisville *Courier-Journal* and the other a Sigma Delta Chi award winner from the Charlotte *News*, are in keeping with the two articles in this issue. Both urge Southern leaders to begin positive action toward making the South the most progressive and enlightened area in the United States.

Concluding the issue is a brief listing of articles and pamphlets on the student movement.

School Desegregation Is Entering New Phase

Analysis of Houston and New Orleans

The advances of school desegregation in the fall of 1960 mark the beginning of a new phase in the struggle to win in reality what was granted in law by the Supreme Court decision of 1954. As the Southern Regional Council stated in its school report of August 19, "The Deep South at last faces the demand that it comply with the law."

The first phase in the progress of school desegregation was marked by the rapid spread of voluntary compliance in the border states, the District of Columbia, and into parts of Texas and Arkansas. This phase was largely over by the end of 1956 although voluntary token desegregation has continued to be the pattern in North Carolina.

The second phase involved the tortuous application of compulsory federal court desegregation orders in Upper South communities making little pretense of good faith compliance. This phase was marked by the collapse of massive resistance in Virginia in 1959 and the beginning of desegregation in Florida during the same year.

The third phase of the struggle involves the great urban centers of the Deep South. The states of the Deep South now face the inevitable decision of allowing these cities to comply with the law or of closing down state-wide school systems. When these cities do desegregate their schools, the policies of last-ditch resistance will live on, if at all, only in the old rural, plantation areas of the Deep South.

After years of tedious litigation the cities of Dallas, Texas, and Atlanta, Georgia, are under court orders to desegregate to some degree during the fall term of 1961. But the issue is drawn this fall in New Orleans, Louisiana, and in Houston, Texas, two of the largest and most important of the growing industrial centers of the Deep South.

Houston, long known as the largest segregated school system in the nation, initiated school desegregation a few days after the opening of schools on September 7. New Orleans received a delay of one academic quarter but is under order to proceed with desegregation November 14. Both cities are proceeding under almost identical plans handed down by

New Phase

(Continued)

two federal judges. In each case desegregation begins this year in the first grade and proceeds at the rate of a grade a year until the process is completed in 12 years.

There are many similarities in the Houston and New Orleans situations. There are also important differences. Both cities show the impact of the lessons learned in Little Rock, in Norfolk, and elsewhere. Both will probably provide new legal precedents which will facilitate decisions in other cities tomorrow.

Both cities were, in general, strongly opposed to school desegregation. In a mail survey of parents conducted by the school board in New Orleans last May, 82% of whites voting advocated closing the schools to avoid desegregation. In Houston, the electorate voted in June, as is required by Texas State law. The result: 57,958 against, and 29,418 for desegregation.

Support Segregation

In both communities the school boards openly supported segregation, avoided compliance as long as legally possible. In New Orleans the litigation has been in court since 1952. Neither school board was willing to bring in an acceptable desegregation plan. The New Orleans board never presented a plan for judicial approval. The Houston school board finally did so but U. S. District Judge Ben C. Connally dismissed it as "a palpable sham and subterfuge designed only to accomplish further evasion and delay."

Although there was much talk in both cities of bitter-end resistance, of school closing, and this talk still rumbles in New Orleans, both school boards, faced with the final decision, proceeded to comply with federal court orders. As School Supt. John W. McFarland of Houston stated, "We are law-abiding citizens." Lloyd J. Rittiner, president of the New Orleans school board said, "It seems inconsistent to me that, as school board president, I would advocate teaching of the Constitution of the United States to school children and, on the other hand, defy the ruling of the Supreme Court."

State Laws

Both cities were caught between federal court orders to desegregate and state laws aimed at preserving school segregation. Texas law provides that any public school system which desegregates without a favorable referendum vote loses all state aid funds. The voters of Houston voted overwhelmingly against desegregation. The Houston school district stood to lose six million dollars in state funds during the current school year under this law. The district schools could also lose state accreditation. The Houston School board filed suit to recover the state aid funds, an action that might have provided a constitutional test of the aid cut-off law. However, on September 6, the school board received assurances from Texas Atty. Gen. Will Wilson that the district would not lose state funds if it proceeded to desegregate.

The Orleans Parish school board faced a bewildering complex of state laws and at one time was under a federal court order to proceed with deseg-

regation and a state court injunction against so proceeding. Louisiana massive resistance laws were among the toughest in the South. They provided that only the state legislature could change the classification of public schools, that the governor must assume control of any schools under desegregation order, that the governor could close any or all schools to avoid desegregation, that state funds would be withheld from any desegregating school district.

Faced with a seeming stalemate, 31 white parents brought legal action in behalf of themselves and their children to enjoin the governor and other officials from using state massive resistance laws to interfere with the implementation of the federal court order. The white action asked, as the preferable alternative, that desegregation be postponed until 1961. This action, interpreted as an "open schools" move, was combined with an N.A.A.C.P. suit, also requesting injunctive relief.

Governor Davis

Louisiana Governor Jimmie Davis, soon after the suit by white parents was filed, took over control of Orleans Parish schools under the authority of one of the contested laws. He also avoided service by federal marshals of a subpoena in connection with the case.

On August 30, a three-judge federal court, meeting in New Orleans handed down a decision returning the control of local schools to the New Orleans school board and enjoining the governor, the attorney general and the state treasurer from interference. In effect the court ruled as unconstitutional, before their application, virtually the whole battery of massive resistance laws.

In Little Rock and in Virginia legal action managed to nullify school closing laws, but only after they had been applied with consequent hardship to school children and to the communities affected. The New Orleans action seems to provide a precedent for challenging such laws *before* their application. Left standing, however, were Louisiana state statutes involving pupil placement and private tuition grants.

Cities Differ

The two cities differed markedly in public reaction to the change. In Houston, although desegregation was delayed a few days after the original opening of school on September 7, a handful of Negro students attended the first grade at formerly all-white schools and experienced no immediate difficulty. Although there is a fairly strong White Citizens Council in Houston, desegregation was preceded by surprisingly little protest or public debate.

In delaying the opening of school, Houston School Board member Stone Wells said, "We're not trying to circumvent the federal court order to integrate. It's just that we don't know the impact of this thing." The action purportedly was taken to give the Houston placement plan an opportunity to be put into effect.

As the date of school desegregation approached the citizens of Houston seemed much more interested in the settlement of the lunch counter sit-in conflict and the coming presidential campaign. Houston's lunch counter problem simmered all during the spring and summer and was finally partially

New Phase

(Continued)

settled in late August by direct negotiations between businessmen and Negro leaders after the failure of a bi-racial negotiating committee appointed by the mayor. It is possible that the lunch counter dispute absorbed most of the normal disagreement over racial issues while school desegregation arrived, relatively unnoticed.

New Orleans, on the other hand, has been a seething caldron of rising emotions. As the legal and political maneuvering continued into July and August the former apathy of the community gave way to charges and countercharges, increased activities of citizens groups on various sides of the issue, increasing attention in the mass media.

The fever pitch of the New Orleans debate emphasizes again the role of political leadership in the school situation. When prominent political leaders, playing on emotional fears, openly challenge the authority of the courts and continuously promise successful evasion, the public becomes confused and divided.

Resistance

Governor Davis, Atty. Gen. Gremillon, New Orleans school board member Emile Wagner and others known to the public have kept up a steady barrage of public statements and appearances, promising to keep the schools open and segregated, hinting at the use of "interposition," asking the people to just "trust the governor," etc. During his recent campaign Gov. Davis stated that he would "go to jail if necessary" to prevent desegregation. With the ten week delay granted by the courts, this line of talk continues, even in the face of the decision enjoining the governor from interference. Atty. Gen. Jack Gremillon was cited for contempt of court as part of the same federal court opinion.

"Open Schools"

Segregationist leaders are openly calling on the governor to resist the court order, to close all the schools, etc. Segregationist school board member Emile Wagner has said "the governor has a golden opportunity, one that comes to a few men during a lifetime . . . he can become the individual who will rally the conservatives of the nation to the end that we can turn to the right the thinking of the people of this country." Davis himself has been rather vague concerning his plans. He has said that it is time for a showdown to determine "what state rights really amount to."

Two citizens organizations are in the field in support of open schools. After the pattern of the Women's Emergency committee in Little Rock and the Virginia Committee for Public Schools, these groups, Save Our Schools, Inc., and the Committee on Public Education, avow no opinion on the merits of segregation or desegregation. They urge open schools segregated or desegregated. These groups have been waging an active campaign through the public media. As the courts have narrowed the area of choice, the open school advocates have picked up increasing support. A number of religious leaders and groups, the Junior Chamber of Com-

merce, the Central Trades Council of the AFL-CIO, the Independent Women's Organization and a variety of other organizations have taken their stands in support of public education. During the last week of August both New Orleans newspapers published front page editorials in behalf of continued public education, with some controlled desegregation if necessary.

Segregationist groups have been busy organizing private school cooperatives to take advantage of possible private tuition grants in case of school closings. At least 25 such neighborhood groups have been formed so far.

The future of public education in New Orleans this year is still in doubt. There may yet be a special legislative session to try to erect new legal barriers. The governor may use his "sovereign powers" to close all of the schools. We may yet see, in Louisiana, the first case of a state refusing to comply with final court orders.

School Support

In both Houston and New Orleans, the mayors and the press were last minute supporters of the public school cause and urged compliance and calmness. In Houston, however, there were few extremist voices raised in behalf of closing schools. The most defiant sounds came from within the Houston school board. Gov. Price Daniel of Texas refused to intervene in the Houston situation, stating that there was nothing that he could do in the face of final federal court orders. In both cities, as in Arkansas and Virginia in past years, business leadership is last to become involved. As yet it has not spoken out as such in either community.

There are similarities and there are differences in this tale of two cities. Perhaps certain premises can be drawn from their experiences, both positive and negative.

1. As precedents are built up in case after case, legal evasion becomes more difficult and more limited.

2. In the cities at least, in the Deep South as well as in Upper South states, public apathy is the primary response to a school desegregation crisis.

3. Local school boards presenting desegregation plans in good faith will be permitted considerable leeway over the transition process. Local boards refusing to offer such plans permit federal judges to specify the details of the desegregation process.

4. Even in Deep South cities there can be open and honest debate over the issues involved in the school crisis. However, the apathy and complacency of past years makes it necessary that there be an organized effort to inform public opinion of the facts and the real options in the situation.

5. The tension heat of the community is in large part a matter of response to political and civic leadership. Divided or demagogic leadership can help create a considerable degree of violence potential.

The experiences during this school year of New Orleans and Houston may well be similar after the desegregation process begins, or they could be quite different. In either case they will have a tremendous influence on developments in other cities and communities across the Lower South.

State Tuition Grants Used for Prince Edward School

Prince Edward County, Virginia, has the dubious distinction of being the only area in the United States opening the fall term of school without public education. Unlike last year, however, white citizens of Prince Edward have decided to take advantage of state and county aid through tuition grants.

The history of the county's stubborn "massive resistance" to school desegregation dates back to the Supreme Court decision in 1954. Prince Edward was one of the original defendants in the case although a final court order to desegregate the school system was not handed down until last year.

The majority of white citizens in the county, preferring no public schools to desegregation, authorized the closing of the public schools and established makeshift private schools for white children in churches, stores, and homes.

The public schools were closed when Prince Edward County supervisors voted to refuse to appropriate school funds. At the same time, the county tax rate was reduced from $3.40 per $100 evaluation to $1.60. This decrease was to enable county citizens to contribute more money to the private school system, the Prince Edward School Foundation.

Unlike other communities in Virginia, when "massive resistance" collapsed in Virginia, Prince Edward's white citizens chose a complete shutdown of public facilities. In Norfolk, Warren County, and Charlottesville, public education was continued along with the private schools which were established.

Prince Edward has been hailed as a "model" for other Southern localities wishing to avoid desegregation; and in the beginning, the county's white citizens appeared to succeed in establishing a truly private school.

The 1200 white children were lodged in makeshift schools, but plans were formulated early for the purchase of existing school facilities or the erection of new school plants.

The 1700 Negro children were largely without schools. Some of the students were placed in schools outside the county and ten community centers for Negroes were established in the county.

Sixty-six teachers, "nearly all from the public schools," were hired by the Prince Edward Foundation at state salaries to teach in the white private schools. In January, the private school system was accredited by the state.

As mentioned, state tuition grants were not used in the private schools probably due to the fear that the grants would not withstand a court attack from the NAACP.

However, the white citizens did attempt to persuade the Negroes in the county to take advantage of tuition grants. In December, Southside Schools, Inc., was chartered and a personal letter was sent to each Negro parent in the county. The group reportedly hoped to use the Negro public school buildings. However, only one application was received. Another overture by the group in June had much the same reception.

Negroes apparently felt that acceptance of the tuition grants and the use of the public schools for private education by Negroes would open the door for similar procedures by the Prince Edward Foundation.

During 1959-60, the Foundation budget was about $304,000 with most of its classroom and some of its equipment donated free of charge. The budget for 1960-61 is set at $348,000.

During the past year, the Foundation attempted to buy the Prince Edward High School. The sale was approved at a public meeting, but the school board on a tie vote of 3-3 successfully prevented sale of the building in February. Five members of the board subsequently resigned. A new school board has been appointed, but no new decision as to sale of the school has been forthcoming. In any case, the Foundation, which opened school in the same makeshift classes this fall, plans a new high school for the spring.

The Foundation, which operated schools without tuition fees this year, now plans tuition fees of $265 and $240 for the high and elementary schools respectively.

As mentioned, it also has decided to accept state and county tuition grants. The state now makes available $150 for high school students and $125 for elementary school students. The county will provide $100 for each student.

The county grant is being made available through an increase in the tax rate. As mentioned, last year the tax rate droped from $3.40 per $100 evaluation to $1.60. This year it was raised to $4.00.

The county will also use new Virginia legislation which enables it to give a tax credit of up to 25 per cent for contributions to non-sectarian private schools within the county.

Legal activity has not been at a standstill, and the use of tuition grants by the Foundation is expected to stir new litigation. The NAACP has asked the federal court for an injunction to require the resumption of public education in the county and to prohibit the sale of vacant school buildings to private interests. In September, it also asked the court to require the state to provide public schools in Prince Edward since it did so in other counties.

It is also expected that the use of tuition grants and the tax relief law by Prince Edward County will be attacked in the courts with the contention that this is state action and subject to Constitutional restraints.

In any event, the brief history of the private schools in Prince Edward indicates that the segregationist's search for a truly private school has not been without difficulty in any community. School finances, of course, is one of the biggest problems in any community. Prince Edward amply demonstrates that this is almost impossible without some state aid.

The Snail's Pace of School Integration

From
Louisville
Courier-Journal
September 19, 1960

Schools have opened throughout the South this year without the disorders and incitement that have made previous such openings an occasion for anger and sorrow. It would be more of an occasion for self-congratulation if the orderliness meant that the South had given up its massive grudge and that Negro children were attending white schools in steadily growing numbers.

Such is not the case. Two Negro girls entered a white high school in Richmond, Virginia. One girl was admitted to classes in Dollarway, Arkansas. Houston admitted Negroes to classes "under protest and duress." But the over-all picture was one in which legal stratagems have kept compliance with court orders to a bare minimum.

There are 767 school districts in a seventeen-state area with some sort of integration. But, as *Southern School News* emphasizes, the actual number of Negroes attending integrated schools remains at about six per cent of the Negro population. A majority of this six per cent is concentrated in the border states and Washington, D. C. Five states have not even begun to integrate their elementary and high schools and only one of them has a degree of integration, which is slight, at the college level.

One by one, as federal court decisions this year have shown, the evasions are being disposed of. Houston and New Orleans are under orders to desegregate this year. But the snail's pace at which integration is being achieved makes the bitterness of younger Negroes understandable and does nothing to persuade them that the rule of law is superior to the rule of demonstration which some of them have fruitlessly tried.

There is, fortunately, considerable evidence that reasonable Southerners are wearying of the endless legal skirmishing, and even more of the inferior quality of the education being foisted on their children by makeshift schools and the closing of entire districts. This reasonableness is cool and not idealistic in motive, but it may hasten the creeping pace of integration where all the exhortation in the world will not do so.

This Could Be a Southern Century*

Editorial by Cecil Prince
Charlotte News

A shirt-sleeved man plods through the loam of north Florida's slash-pine country to the porch of a white frame cottage. He extends his hand to a man waiting there.

Each man squeezes three times with the thumb on the ridge of the other's hand, twisting slightly backward as he does so.

"Ayak?" one of them asks.

"Akia," responds the other.

Two members of the Ku Klux Klan, unknown to each other, thus establish kinship in the "Invisible Empire." To them, "Ayak" means "Are you a Klansman?" And "Akia" means "A Klansman I am."

It was as if the shadows of history had receded, and there reincarnated in the bright sunlight of the New South, was some half-forgotten obscenity.

A grief ago, it would all have been so natural, so understandable, so forgivable. In 1863, or even in the dismal decades that followed, there would have been reasons.

There are no valid reasons today.

Yet the ritual is repeated in turnip patches and broomsage fields and on bayous and under moss-festooned oaks throughout the South. And so are all of the other rituals that make so many Southerners the prisoners of a terrible inheritance.

For Southerners, however they may deny it, are still tightly, perhaps even inextricably bound to a deliberate, self-conscious mystique. John Brown's soul may or may not go marching on, depending on which side of the Mason-Dixon Line you learned your songs, but the passions it unleashed still take their toll.

Why do these bones and dust, relics and fragments of an American Juggernaut, still stir the air to life? The answers lie in a history of human convulsions and awful travail, long remembered and long resented. It is what James Branch Cabell was talking about in "The Rivet in Grandfather's Neck:"

"Our actual tragedy isn't that our fathers were badly treated, but that we ourselves are constitutionally unable to do anything except talk about how badly our fathers were treated."

Then, too, as Marshall Fishwick wrote much later, to be a Confederate today isn't nearly as dangerous as it was in the 1860s. No risk, no marching, no bleeding. The pose is there for the taking.

The central tragedy of the modern South is that even its best efforts are so terribly tentative. Its leaders often speak grandly of economic revolution and social progress, on the one hand, while pledging allegiance to dusty concepts of 19th Century conservatism on the other. If there is any such thing as Southern liberalism in the nation today, more often than not it masquerades demurely under the label of moderation.

Moderation has its virtues—if the

**Winner of Sigma Delta Chi Annual Award.*

Century

(Continued)

choice is between two violent forms of self-destruction. But, logically, there can be no moderation on the broad principles involved in the safeguarding of human rights, in the advancement of elementary democracy, in the promotion of economic progress, in the protection and in the development of the health, mental aptitudes and physical vigor of the region's human resources. Only the vibrant qualities of a South that is extremely concerned, extremely determined and extremely enlightened can make gains which are permanent and enduring. Moderation in these matters has no legitimacy whatsoever.

The exciting fact is that this could be the Southern Century. All around us are the resources of social and economic progress which, so far, have been barely touched in four centuries. There is a compression of human energy within one orbit, a potentiality and vitality of people. True enough, the South is brash, sensitive, unsure and provincial. It is an unpredictable and intractable region. But these very qualities give it an explosive promise unmatched anywhere in America. Together with its rich abundance of untapped natural resources, its forests, its minerals, its water and its magnificent climate, it offers the promise of unimaginable wealth and progress.

It is perfectly true that human problems are posed here with singular directness and nakedness. For better or worse, it is the unique place where the great social dilemmas of our age inevitably take hold of the individual. Furthermore, the South in 1959 is still a pandemonium of harsh voices.

But the voices have turned sour.

More than sound and fury, the modern South needs bold and enlightened leadership. More than rant, it needs reason. It needs men to voice its true aspirations and direct its true destiny, men who will not permit America's profession of faith in equal opportunity and freedom for the human spirit to be watered down, whether in the name of expediency or the plea of exterior menace. Nor can such leaders be satisfied with the knowledge that progress has been made. Of course progress has been made. But the distance the South has come must stand always as a reminder of the distance yet to be traveled.

Despite the cynics and the hot-eyed prophets of disaster, we maintain that Southerners will respond to such leadership if it is offered.

But there must be a sense of revival, of renaissance of something old in new and enlightened terms. The best of the Southern tradition must be preserved and the worst discarded. Furthermore, the battle is here. It must be fought here with our own people. The response must come as much from the rednecks and wool hat boys as from the professors and the politicians and the manufacturers of the dominant middle class.

With wise and courageous leadership, the region can triumph over the cobwebs of pride and prejudice. For the nay-sayers of the North are wrong. The story of the modern South is not that it exists as an enduring embodiment of human wrong, but as enduring embodiment of human possibilities. The possibilities, fully realized, can make this the Southern Century.

Further Reading on Student Movement

A Selected Bibliography

For readers interested in other material on "sit-ins" and related demonstrations, a selected list of pamphlet and magazine articles include:

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"Will Negroes Win in South?", *U. S. News and World Report*, March 14, 1960, p. 41 ff.

The available statistical information [of school desegregation in Virginia] seems too slight to permit anything more than guesses as to future changes. That Virginia will see considerably more desegregation is now virtually certain. But how much desegregation will rise across the state remains extremely uncertain. Meantime, for the most part, the state appears to have accepted the present era of modest desegregation as just or unavoidable. The localities where schools will be desegregated for the first time appear calm about the prospect.

But it is still true, as it was at the beginning, that there are sharply differing parts of Virginia (as there are of the whole South), and that the problems ahead are of such complexity as to continue to demand the utmost in statesmanship not only from official state leaders but from all Virginians of wisdom and intelligence.—*The Virginian-Pilot*, September 4, 1960.

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

. . . Unquote

"In the integration crisis common to many a community every August since the Supreme Court's 1954 ruling, the cities of Houston and New Orleans find themselves in a plight largely of their own making—the prospect of absolutely no community preparation for it."

From an editorial
in the *Louisville Courier-Journal*

• • •

"The experience of school districts which have begun desegregation—such as those in Virginia—has demonstrated that it does not mean disaster; with intelligent local leadership it can mean alike better education and better race relations."

From an editorial
in the *Washington Post and Times-Herald*

• • •

". . . The sit-ins and wade-ins succeed, but the will of Christ for the races will not be accomplished until Negro Christians and white Christians break bread together on their knees. For a long time to come the presence of Negroes and whites in the same church will not be normal, but the abnormality can be turned to the glory of God and to the good of all his children."

From an editorial
in *The Christian Century*
August 24, 1960

"I have hoped that this board would work toward desegregation as it told the court it would but I cannot find one shred of evidence where you have done anything but seek out ways of delaying what is inevitable. Why can't we, who are obliged to set examples of 177,000 youngsters, set ourselves up as law-abiding citizens? Instead, you seek only to stir up confusion and trouble . . ."

Mrs. Charles E. White,
Houston School Board member,
Quote in *The Houston Post*

• • •

"We can have a better world if, as citizens and teachers, we will work toward developing basic democratic truths and adherence to them, the improvement of human relations, and the development of a deeper sense of commitment to dedicated and inspired teaching."

Dr. Albert E. Manley, President,
Spelman College,
Quoted in *Houston Post*

• • •

"The people of Little Rock are ashamed of what happened there. And the people of Florida should be ashamed of what happened in Jacksonville. The governors of both states should do everything possible to prevent these things happening again."

Governor Leroy Collins
of Florida
Quoted by Associated Press

The Changing South in Print!

WHEN NEGRO "SIT-INS" started in the South segregationists warned that any weakening of the line by merchants would unloose violence and white boycotts. But the line did give—and here's what happened:

—"No store in the South which has opened its lunch counters to Negroes," notes the Southern Regional Council, "has reported a loss of business. Managers have reported business as usual or noted an increase." Where Negroes were welcomed at lunch counters, reports the Council, "white customers have observed the change calmly for the most part and without a break in their shopping routine."

Meanwhile, in many of those stores which continue their refusal to serve Negroes, "business has fallen off from 15 per cent to as much as 65 per cent . . ."

The old snake-oil the hate peddlers keep pushing doesn't seem to be pulling in as many suckers as it used to.—*Miami Beach*, Fla., *Times*.

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